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A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

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INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographia until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

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with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1678-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

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Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

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but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delavare and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
797 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuscung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found. 114

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

131 [101] [197] [161]

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131 177 Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

128 The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226 [262] For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

[227] According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224 The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

241 used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, [412] the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

242 There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

227 In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the
262 Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnies or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katniss (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] [252] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hee (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 30; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

262 Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

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262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs
304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until
302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during
[841] menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the
854 cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698,
482 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing
[868] and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the 591 newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers [595] state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the 574 Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 623 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
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> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95).

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204).

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes.

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142).

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors.

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high estcem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 336; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Huttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Zeisberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

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773 776 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.[13] [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

796 The greater part of the ceremony consisted of the recitation of visions by themen one at a time. They said that their protecting deities appeared to them in a dream "...in one or another form, for example, that of a large bird that then talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them;" The unfavorable dreams were not considered appropriate to recite at the ceremony.

In telling his dream, each man advanced "...holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn... After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and speaking in a loud tone of voice he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him." (Luckenbach, pp. 611-12, also see Zeisberger, 1910, p. 137). Actually these men whom Luckenbach saw recite their dreams were probably following a well-known path, with prearranged stopping places where the various "verses" of the vision were related. The same persons recited their dreams year after year so that they attained a formal pattern. The path followed represents allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, that is, the road of human existence and of the soul after death (Speck, 1931, p. 23).

[782] "These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time." At the conclusion a sacrificial feast was held, for which the meat was provided by a communal hunt. Additional features of the Annual Ceremony noted by Kenny and Beatty were that the sacrifice consisted of twelve of each of several species of animals and that the offering was made by burning the fat of the animals on twelve hot stones. The men who performed the sacrifice then took a sweat bath using the same twelve stones (also see Kenney, pp. 168-69; Beatty, p. 44). "In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to the two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward the sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property." (Luckenbach, p. 613; also see Beatty, pp. 43-44).14

796 782 The Moravian missionaries a Friedenshutten witnessed a slightly different ceremony to which only guests of the family were invited. An old man sacrificed a deer at the center fire, then built an "oven" in which he placed twelve stones representing various deities. The old man then took the boy in whose honor the ceremony was being given

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Pauka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 30). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delawnre burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 30). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these [illegible], the [illegible]ng frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted [illegible] such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

FOOTNOTES

000 1. The reports of Butler and Heye are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[241] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 281). According to Skinner, Dankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between painful inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of being pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

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